

COLONIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND FUTURE OF NIGERIA

IBRAHEEM SULAIMAN

FORMER DIRECTOR, CENTRE FOR ISLAMIC LEGAL STUDIES
INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION
AHMADU BELLO UNIVERSITY
ZARIA, NIGERIA

LECTURE DELIVERED AT INSTITUTE OF
ADMINISTRATION CONGO, AHMADU BELLO
UNIVERSITY ZARIA. 14TH MARCH, 1982.

COLONIALISM, DEMOCRACY AND FUTURE OF NIGERIA

IBRAHEEM SULAIMAN

Former Director, Centre for Islamic Legal Studies
Institute of Administration
Ahmadu Bello University
Zaria, Nigeria

14TH MARCH, 1982.

2022

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

"As for the land that is good, its vegetation comes forth in abundance by the permission of its Lord, whereas, as for the land that is corrupt, its vegetation comes forth but poorly. Thus do We give many facets to Our messages for people that are grateful"

Quran 7:58.

I. INTRODUCTION

This lecture does not flow from a sere desire to contribute to the endless debates on Nigeria debates that most often amount to no more than mere speculative thoughts, or worse, to Sad re-statement and even outright justification of the colonial strategies for this nation. For, when we talk of Nigeria, as it is today, invariably talking about an entity brought into being by Imperial Britain to advance her interests and promote her goals.

The lecture flows rather from the deep pain one feels in the realization that our nation is drifting almost irretrievably towards what one can no longer hesitate to call a collapse; it flows, also, from a deep sense of belonging and goodwill towards a nation and a people on whom history has entrusted with so great and grave responsibilities, but who seem to have either belittled these responsibilities or abuse them; and the lecture flows, moreover, from the firm belief that the nation which we call Nigeria is not the final we deserve - a hope, so to say, that our nation has not been created in its final, ultimate form.

The lecture relies on two premises: that Muslims, as the strongest and most cohesive single force in Nigeria and in Africa as a whole have the greatest responsibility towards the creation of a new nation; and that, Islam, as the deepest-rooted social, moral

and ideological system in this country and this region of the earth, and as the only system that operates on its own and independent of colonial powers, is the most reliable, and indeed, the sole machinery of an enduring change. I do not consider these premises as challengeable: their truth is confirmed by history and affirmed even by the current realities of Nigeria. It is for this reason that I feel justified to speak largely to Muslims, for they carry the future of this country on their shoulders; and justified to refer almost exclusively to Islam, for it is the most reliable force that will ultimately determine the course of this nation.

My belief is that the future of this nation lies squarely on two resources: the human resources provided mainly by Muslims, and the social and ideological self-sustaining resources provided principally by Islam.

II. THE COLONIAL DOCTRINES

The Nigerian nation is the creation of Imperial Britain. It was created, like every other colonial nation, to promote, one hand, some immediate national interests of Britain, and to ensure on the other, the advancement of the perpetual interests Europe and the West. We will presently realize, I hope, that the political entity we call Nigeria is meant to advance both the immediate and permanent economic and political ambitions of Imperial West, and that the structure of this entity, its institutions and the part of its leadership have been carefully nurtured to promote imperial goals.

If we see colonialism, not in terms of mere historical coincidence nor as a past story but rather as a global, continuing process, as a culture, as a continuation of the crusades, we will be able to realize that its goals are clear and well-defined, and its interests are permanent and perpetual. There is, therefore, no difference between the West which invaded, the Muslim World from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries in the name of the crusades, and the West which subjected Africa to an unprecedented four centuries of human exploitation and continental extermination in the Slave Trade, and the West which colonized Asia, Latin America and the Muslim World, which resulted in almost permanent desolation of these larger sections of mankind, and the West which

now subjects all non-Western nations to economic, political and moral pillage and exploitation, and the West which is well determined, forever, to reduce everyone else, every other nation and every other race to total slavery and cultural annihilation. Colonialism is thus an unbroken chain of exploitation, of pillage, of enslavement and of extermination perpetrated by one race, one civilization.

That we must keep in mind, however, that colonialism is a system, complete in itself, having its doctrines and believing firmly in the righteousness and necessity for its cause. We may feel indignant that Europe has exploited us, and built itself on our gives, We may feel horrified by the extent of its barbarity and inhumanity, by its lack of even the most elementary sense of fairness and justice when we remember that it forced more than one hundred and twenty million people from Africa into slavery; we may be shocked by its insatiable greed, by its gluttonous and grabbing attitudes: but Europe believes confidently that it is right and justified to live at the expense of others, to enslave nations and continents, to be unfair, greedy and wholly exploitory in its dealing with others.

This is because it works on its own Doctrines, with it regards as both traditional and instinctive to it as a race, as a system and as a civilization. In his The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, Lord Lugard, the

truest and perhaps the most energetic of modern colonialists, presents the most articulate and thorough exploitation of these Doctrines. Lugard is the “father” of modern Nigeria, and his words are, for us, extremely important since they are based entirely on practical application of these Doctrines onus as a nation, a continent, a race, a civilization. His exposition should be of greater interest to Muslims since Lord Lugard is credited for having rescued Northern Nigeria from the unknown, that is, Islam. We are thus obligated to know these Doctrines, and to draw conclusion from them.

First Doctrine:

The first Doctrine is that Africa should always serve drawing from the historical experience as a source comfort, gain and raw material for Europe. It is the fate of this continent, and particularly Nigeria, that it should build Britain and the West while itself lays in waste. It is the luck of Britain that it should raise the standard of living of its people, and nourish its children with the plundered wealth of Africa. Notably, Nigeria. Lord Lugard says:

“There is no doubt that the (British) control of the tropics, so far from being a charge on the British taxpayer, is to him a source of very great gain. I have... shown how the products, of the tropics have raised the standard of comfort of the (English)

working man, added to the amenities of his life, and provided alike the raw materials on which the industry and wealth of the community depend, and the market for manufactures which ensure employment... Never in the world's history was there an empire which in proportion to its size encroached so little upon the public time and the public cost."

Elaborating further on how Britain was built with the resource of Africa among others, Lugard continue: "Prior to the war Nigeria was the latest addition to the (British) Empire... Its trade – already £42,000,000 (in 1920) - the greater part of which is with the United Kingdom, is of the kind which is the most valuable workers of this country - raw materials and foodstuffs in exchange for textiles and hardware."

"It is enough to recall," he admits, in an effort to show that Britain would have collapsed as a nation had it not been for the wealth of Africa, the larger part of which was extracted from Nigeria, "the fact that 100 years ago a (British) labourer's wage was four shillings to six shillings a week. He rarely tasted white bread, for the quarter loaf stood at eleven pence... Still less could be afford to eat beef or mutton. Towards the close of nineteenth century, tea, coffee, and cocoa, previously unknown luxuries, were his daily beverages and white bread, his daily food."

"Sugar was cheap, and rice, sago and other tropical products were in daily use," Lord Lugard continues his confession, "If my reader will turn to the pages of Miss Martineau's history, or to those of Carlyle, and contrast the condition of squalor and misery in which the bulk of the people of these islands (of Britain) lived in 1816 with the conditions prevailing in 1891, he will realise how insistent had become the demand alike for the food-supplies and for the raw materials which were the products of the tropics."

Second Doctrine:

The second Doctrine of colonialism, is that colonial encroachment and expansion, and the plundering of the wealth of other nations are not only a matter of necessity for the European race, but also a honourable venture. This is the first time one comes across the baffling fact of a nation glorifying plunder and global exploitation.

In the words of Lugard:

"The abounding progress of our tropical dependencies call not only for millions of pounds worth of railway and other construction materials; but for men to construct and to maintain the railways and other works the expansion of administration equally demands officers for every branch... The development of commerce requires local agents. The opening of mine-fields calls for expert workers."

"In all these fields of activity," he admits, "openings are afforded for every class of the Youth of England, whether from the University, the technical schools, or the workshop. It is difficult to realize how severe would be the blow to the life of the nation if these thousands of avenues to independent initiatives and individual enterprise ambition were closed..."

In trying to justify the Europe's greed in thriving and raising its standard of living on the ruins of African people, Lord Lugard says "The partition of Africa was, as we all recognize, due primarily to the economic necessity of increasing the supplies of raw materials and food to meet the needs of the industrialized nations of Europe. It is cheap form of rhetoric which stigmatizes as 'common greed.' the honourable work by which, men and nations earn their bread and improve their standard of life."

Third Doctrine:

The third Doctrine enunciated by Lugard is that not only did the wealth of Tropical Africa build Britain economically but Africa is indirectly responsible for the building of the admittedly vigorous, though vicious, national character of Britain. In other words, Africa created modern Britain in so far as its wealth, its mold and its character are concerned.

In the words of Lugard: "I have already pointed out that this large field of opportunity and of responsibility must undoubtedly have contributed very greatly to the formation of the national character, which the late Lord Salisbury described in memorable words, "Our people, when they go out into the possession of new territory, carry loth them such a power of initiative, such an extraordinary courage and resource, that if they are pitted against an equal number... it will be our people that will be masters, it will be our commerce that will prevail, it will be our capital that will rule, though not a sword has been unsheathed, and though not a blow has been struck in their defence."

"He did but echo the words of Adam Smith," continues Lugard "which I have quoted elsewhere, that the debt of the colonies to the motherland consists in the fact that 'it bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving great actions and of laying the foundations of so great an Empire.

Fourth Doctrine:

The fourth Doctrine is that as far as Britain or Europe is concerned, it is their right - inalienable and fundamental - to exploit Africa and other non-European races. It is their right to build themselves at

the expense of others. "These products" Lugard explains with a sense of pride and justice, "lay wasted and ungarnered in Africa because the natives did not know their use and value. Millions of tons of oil-nuts, for instance, grew wild without the labour of man, and lay rotting in the forests. Who can deny the right of the hungry people of Europe to utilize the wasted bounties of nature, or that the task of developing these resources was... a trust for civilization and for the benefit of mankind?"

"Europe benefited," according to him, "by the wonderful increase in the amenities of life for the mass of her people which followed the opening up of Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, Africa benefited by the influx of manufactured goods, and the substitution of law and order for the methods of barbarism... Thus Europe was impelled to the development of Africa primarily by the necessities of her people, and not by the greed of the capitalists."

Fifth Doctrine:

The next Colonial Doctrine is that, Trade, far from being a reciprocal process involving two contesting parties as universally recognized, is, as far Britain or West is concerned, a one-way traffic which allows one party - the West in this case - to take absolute advantage of the other.

In Africa, the rule is simply: continuous, uninterrupted, progressive exploitation. "And though our markets are free to all the world," in the words of Lugard, "British merchants have no small advantage in the first hand and early knowledge of the conditions and resources of each country in their own language. They can and do bring their influence to bear in order to secure as far as possible that the conditions of trade shall be made to suit their own convenience."

Sixth Doctrines:

In the next Doctrine, Lugard informs us that Democracy is more than a question of voting or participation in government or of ordinary process of governing. It is a complete exploitative system which thrives principally on stolen and ill-gotten wealth of other nation and which can only survive on capitalist enterprise. Or, in other words, it is a system that operates well only when there are people to be cheated, or when there, is wealth elsewhere to be extorted.

Thus he says: "Democracy has learnt by war how absolutely dependent it is on the supply these vital necessities from overseas, and even for the material for ammunitions in time of war. We have realized that the import can only be maintained by command of the sea."

"Some of these tropical dependencies," Lugard elaborates, "are essential as naval bases, as cable and wireless stations, and as aerodromes, for that command of sea and air and of world communications upon which these islands depend for their existence."

Seventh Doctrine:

The seventh Doctrine is that the compensation to be paid to the oppressed people of Africa as a result of Europe's wholesale exploitation is Christianity and "civilization." Indeed, Christianity has always offered itself as the spiritual wing of colonialism, while the civilization - which is a package containing the English law, the capitalist or social economy, the western traditions of education, philosophy and thought - helps to consolidate the colonial hold on the Tropics even after independence.

"We must not lose sight," Lugard elucidates this Doctrine, "of the fact that several of our West African colonies had been acquired solely as depots... others in support of missionary endeavor again...were necessary for the maintenance of our sea power."

"In all these cases," he continues, "a higher civilization was brought into contact with barbarism, with the inevitable result, as history teaches, that boundaries were enlarged in the effort to protect the weak against the strong, to extend the rule of justice and liberty, to protect traders, settlers and (Christian)

missions and to check anarchy and bloodshed on our frontiers..."

Eight Doctrine:

The eight colonial Doctrine enunciated by Lugard is the nation like ours, and our continent and our race, are considered as non-adults, as minors or children, whose affairs have to be governed, as of necessity, by the superior race of Europe, and whose resources must be held in trust by the West. In the words of Lugard: "The general effects of European policy in Africa have been almost wholly evil, says the Labour (Party) reporter, yet he admits that experience and temperament have made the rule of the British over non-adult races an example of everything that is best in modern imperialism.

Ninth Doctrine:

The ninth Doctrine is that colonialism and exploitation are not just a European policy but are most fundamentally a historical, moral and racial Imperative for the European.

It is an inherent, instinctive attitude in that race to engage in global exploitation. It thus will never come to an end so long as Europe has its way. In this sense, it is immaterial that the European is English or German, that he is a democrat or a conservative, a socialist or a capitalist.

The exploitation of other races, the use of Christianity as a bait to colonize peoples and continents, the spreading of Western culture sometimes in the garb of liberalism, sometimes humanism, atheism, in order to expand the frontiers of the West are all seen by Europe as an inevitable and necessary responsibility which destiny has imposed on it.

"In accepting responsibility for the control of these new lands," Lord Lugard says with a sense of finality, "England obeyed the tradition of her race...It was the instinct or the British democracy which compelled us to take our share... We hold these countries because it is the genius of our race to colonize, to trade and to govern."

Tenth Doctrine:

Finally, there lies the most important doctrine that this European tradition, this instinct of democracy, this honourable work of global exploitation and colonialism is a permanent, perpetual policy of the West, which is not subject; to change or abandonment as us the European race exists, as long as Africa and other areas abound with raw materials and natural resources.

"Let it be admitted at the outset," Lugard states emphatically, "that European brains, capital and

energy have not been, and never will be, expended in developing the resources of Africa from motives of pure philanthropy; that Europe is in Africa for the mutual benefits of her industrial classes, and of the native races in their progress to a higher plane; that the benefit can be made reciprocal, and that it is the aim and desire of civilized administration to fulfil this dual mandate."

III. FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

These colonial Doctrine give rise to certain fundamental questions which concern us as a nation and as a people. It is now my intention – insha' Allah – to delve into these issues, in an effort to visualize the course that present itself as necessary and imperative for us to tread in the task of re-creating this nation.

First: We have been told in clear terms now our nation has contributed so immensely in the building of another nation, in raising of the standard of living of another people, that is, the standard of comfort," to quote the confessional words of Lord Lugard, "and... the absolute necessities of life by the mass of (European) population." But the standard of living of our people has sunk deeper in misery, and the absolute necessities of life, at least to a level of decency and dignity, is yet to be provided for the mass of our population.

But the sad fact about this irony is that this nation – and this region- continues to raise the standard of living of Europe and America, and to provide the "absolute necessities of life" which the mass of Western population requires, while this generous nation, this bountiful region, remains condemned to marginal existence, uncertain about its economic, and therefore, social and moral survival. The only reason we can deduce from this sad and unfortunate

reality is that we are still in a state of colonialism, our raw materials and foodstuffs are still being carried away by Europe and America, in exchange as Lugard would say cynically for textiles and hardware and, we may add, for chocolate and cosmetics.

In other words, our nation is unable to contribute to its own development in a way that its people could live in a state of decency and at least minimum contentment because it has agreed, so to say, to reconcile itself with servitude, building and nourishing others while resigning itself to abjection and misery.

But we are capable of ending this reconciliation that we accept that we are a nation supposed to be independent.

Second: we are made to realize that the exploitation of our nation by Europe is a “honourable work” on the part Europe – honourable in the sense that, so long as Europe is hungry for energy, for raw materials, for foodstuffs and for the innumerable other resources that belong to us as of right, so long will it be compelled to usurp them as a “trust for civilization and for the benefit of mankind.” Our duty now, as a nation, is to launch ourselves on the truly honourable work by which men and nations protect and develop their own resources on their own, so that they can “earn their bread and improve their standard of life.”

Every people have a right to their resources and it is perfectly legitimate for them to stop, by whatever means at their disposal, their being robbed. Certainly, we cannot raise exploitation and robbery to a status of honour, for that it is a negation of civilization and humanity, but it is honour and integrity to stop oppression and robbery.

Third: our nation, we are told, “bred and formed the men who were capable of...laying the foundations of so great an empire” But this nation itself is far from being great even though it possesses in abundance the resources, the materials, the impetus and the grounds for breeding great people. The national character is far from being clear, far indeed, from being formed. This, in itself, is an impediment to greatness. We must be certain now what character this nation should take. Should it be neo-colonial, that is, secular, democratic, capitalist, socialist and so on; or should it tread the path of honour, adhering to the noble principles of Islam, and breeding men and women proud of their ideals, working for the moral, social and economic upliftment of the nation, and absolutely determined even to the point of death, never to surrender their nations to European nations, or to any nation that matter. Our experience has shown that it is not possible for a nation that has gone through European colonialization to regain its soul, and move towards greatness, unless it is able first to

untie itself from the web of colonialism. It is now a common knowledge that only a free people can advance towards greatness, and in this age of neo-colonialism, freedom cannot be achieved without a nation breaking the colonial chains with which its neck, hands and feet are tied.

Fourth: we are informed that Europe as a "trustee" for civilization has the right to exploit us, because we are, as a continent, non-adults, because our resources "lay wasted" for reason that we are incapable of utilizing them. But North-Sea oil for example, lay wasted for centuries, yet nobody had gone to exploit it. It is a pity that this situation has continued to this day. Our oil, gas, tin, cocoa and many other items otherwise meant for our use and upliftment are still been carried away because they would still lie wasted without European skill, and, to quote Lugard, "who can deny the right of the hungry people of Europe to utilize the wasted bounties of nature?" It should now be clear to us, that nothing other than a determined drive on our part most especially our youth, to develop all the essential skills needed by the nation by which it would be capable of utilizing its own resources; can save us from being perpetually exploited. We may be able - through Islamic orientation - to develop the necessary consciousness to rescue ourselves from colonial forces, but we may ultimately be forced to auction our resources to them

even at our own instance, if we lack the skills to develop and utilize them. Our goal should be to tell the West in a clear, practical language that they have no right to exploit us, and that we can no longer tolerate being exploited, while at the time, we prepare ourselves fully to take total charge of our resources.

Fifth: trade, we observe, is only a one-way traffic in which the West benefits at our expense. Admittedly, the West invested so much. "The brain", writes Lugard, "the research, the capital and the enterprise of the merchant, the miner and the planter have discovered and utilized the surplus products of Africa." The profits of this "honourable work", have been divided according to him, chiefly among the shareholders, African merchants and the middlemen. "It is true to say," he concludes, "that a vast area of activity has been opened up to the British workman, in which he shares with the capitalist to profit of the development of tropical resources." Now when we look at our economy and see that after many decades of trade with Europe, we are still dependent on European "brain, research and capital" and also helplessly at the mercy of the enterprise of the merchant, the miner and the planter," and that the sole beneficiaries of this trade are still the "shareholder... The African merchant and middlemen...the (Europe) workman and the

capitalist," then we should know those who constitute an obstacle in our way to economic freedom and development. The fact is that we are unable to evolve a genuine trade relationship with other nations because there exists among us those who, due to European backing, can literally be said hold this nation on their fingertips, and who can dash it out to the highest bidder from Europe. If we realize that a number of nations depend almost entirely on trade for their well-being, we can then see the damage which the merchants, miners, planters and African merchants and middlemen are causing our nation. The Islamic principle that the interest of society overrides that of individuals should serve as our guide to rescue this nation from economic slavery.

Sixth: we learn from Lugard that it is the instinct of democracy to take shares not due to it, in other words, it is an inherent quality of a democratic system to subject other people to cheating and exploitation.

We have said that on a larger scale, the bigger, industrial democracies have learnt according to Lugard that their political institutions are "absolutely dependent...on the supply of... vital necessities from overseas." On a smaller scale, Nigeria's democracy can only survive on the inhuman exploitation of the masses, for, to be frank with ourselves, democracy will never be able to rid itself of this strong instinct to

establish an exploitory relationship between the tiny rich and the massive poor.

To the extent that democracy compels us to disunite ourselves to set one poor section of our people against other, to the point of being treacherous towards the people they want to lead: to the extent that democracy raises the interest of a few above that of the rest of the people, legally and without any feeling of remorse to the extent that it almost universally has to be promoted by the wealthy who are then repaid through contracts, "business" and outright grants from the wealth of the nation; and to the extent that democracy opens a nation's door to the interference of multi-nationals and other nations: to these extents, democracy, as we practice it, or rather as we are instructed to practice it, constitutes a serious obstacle to national integration, to clean and upright government, to any effort at freeing the mass of our people from the deceit and treachery of false claimants to leadership, to the establishment of the system or the order we rightly deserve, to putting a stop to a situation in which the nation's treasury is open to thieves, and to freeing this nation from the callous and destabilizing interference of international monopolies and of super-powers.

We should regard as deceitful the sub-division of the "democratic forces" into capitalists or socialists, into

reactionaries or progressives and into right wing or left wing. We have not seen any differences in the objectives they set for themselves, nor in their life-styles, nor in their methods of governance. Indeed, the difference between them lies only in these facts: that one loots and deceives by stealth and the other openly and confidently that one grabs without paying any attention to law, while other does so with the loopholes and excuses provided by European law: that inclined to sell Nigeria to the Western bloc, the other to the East. But each runs his government by patronage, by percentage, by grabbing – for these are the instincts of democracy. Each spreads corruption through the powerful instruments entrenched in the government houses.

When we consider all these facts, we cannot avoid the conclusion that democracy's instinct to exploit consume the honesty of even the most upright of men, dissipates the moral resources of a nation and consumes the energy available to a nation for development, for spreading justice, and for maintaining itself decently.

If democracy is glorified as the ultimate in politics and government, it is because the system that glorifies it is the system that exalts the enslavement and exploitation of Africa as "the honourable work by which men and nations earn their bread and improve

their standard life." We should, as a matter of policy, stop glorifying this system of instinctive greed, and regard those who fit by it, because it allows them to deceive and steal, because it entrenches them as middlemen between our poor and unfortunate selves and European merchants, as diseases that may ultimately become epidemics in this nation. We face but two choices: a continuation of the colonial system, or a return to Islamic principles.

Seventh: we are told that Christianity, Capitalism, European law and way of life and their manufactured goods are sufficient as compensation for the desolation and misery we suffer due to colonial tyranny. "We are endeavoring" says Lord Lugard, "to teach the native races to conduct their affairs with justice and humanity, and to educate them alike in letters and in industry... As Roman imperialism laid the foundations of modern civilization, and led the wild of barbarians of these islands along the path of progress, so in Africa today we are repaying the debt, and bringing to the dark places of the earth, the abode of barbarism and cruelty, the touch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our civilization."

"In this task," Lugard reveals, "the nations of Europe have pledged themselves to cooperation by a solemn covenant. Towards the common goal each

will advance by the methods most consonant with its national genius."

We thus should have no doubt that the "religion" Europe brought to Africa could not be the religion of justice and compassion preached by Jesus Christ. Nothing but a vulgarized, falsified spiritualism could be handed over to a people as compensation for injustice, and in addition, as a means of perpetuating a state of servitude. Religion is a means of liberation, a system with whose assistance find guidance people themselves and a way which guides them towards Allah. If these are among the duties of religion, how can it serve as a substitute for justice, or as a manipulative tool for tyranny? We cannot avoid holding Christianity partly responsible for our condition as an oppressed people, nor can we regard it as a substitute for justice we deserve as of right. As for civilization, all the claims that we would be more stable, more prosperous, better skilled by following Europeans, even as our Prophet would say, to the lizard's hole, have been proved wrong by our post-colonial history. The seeds of liberation and justice, as well as the instruments for creating a worthier nation, are to be found, not in Europe's "religion and civilization," but elsewhere.

For us, we believe that Islam is the means for our liberation, is our system for justice, and our path

towards a higher plane of existence, towards a greater nation which transcends the political, economic and cultural frontiers of colonialism.

Eighth: we are considered "non-adults" by Europe, and for that they consider our relationship with them as that of a minor and his guardian.

Is there a better way of disproving this conception and ending this unjust kind of relationship than being ourselves? If indeed we share common humanity', why should we, through indefensible aping and so If surrender, abdicate our responsibility to be ourselves, and to be on our own?

Ninth: imperialism tolls us, through Lugard, it is the tradition and instinct and genius of the European race to colonize and govern other races. But we know also that even if that were true – and it is not – it is the tradition and instinct and genius of man to fight for his freedom, and it is the tradition of Allah to aid those who struggle for rights, freedom and integrity. Yet, by refusing to struggle to cut the roots of imperialism that have been entrenched in our soil, in our resources, in our thoughts, in our culture and in our souls, we are affirming the heinous European instinct and genius. Our duty is not to affirm what is wrong and evidently false, but to affirm practically the

obvious fact/all movements for freedom have ultimately been triumphant in history.

The question is, what road to freedom, what meaning to freedom? Freedom, for us, means our right to live by the faith we choose for ourselves, to live in accordance with the dictates of our religion, to have complete ownership of our resources, and utilize and dispense them as we deem fit and proper to our benefit, to have full right to our sovereignty and integrity, and to create our nation in accordance with the system we are convinced is the best for us. The right to conviction and to live by it is, in a nutshell the meaning we give to freedom.

The road, without mincing words, is Islam. I have shown that Christianity is the compensation for the oppression of colonialism. I have shown that democracy denies justice to the majority of people.

But Europe's answer, through Lugard is: "Never!" The course open to us is this:

Firstly, that like Europe has done, we put our own brains into operation. Brain is the centre of man, and is thus, the nerve-center of the working of human society. If Europe could colonize others, if it could control the economy of other nations, if it could enslave their leaders and make them sell their

countries at no cost all, it is because it realizes that the world can only be operated from the brain. Therefore, an initiation of an intellectual revolution, free absolutely from the current indefensible, and wholly destructive subservience to Western, imperialistic intellectual traditions; a sincere, committed devotion to the building of a relevant, sound scientific and technological base for our society; and a determination on our part to move, as a people, on a course not dictated by passion or by blind imitation or by dishonest leadership, but directed by systematic thought and reflection - these three attitudes are among the minimum we need to expel European brain that is destroying us. There is the belief here that we must have to depend on European brain to survive, but our many decades of experience has shown that this belief is completely fallacious. This fact remains true forever that only our own brains, will make us into a real nation.

Secondly, that, like Europe, and any other country interest in its own well-being and survival, we must first wrest our economy from the European capital, and build it ourselves. We have the resources, the manpower and the brain to build a powerful economy. The minimum any nation requires for independence and self-reliance is that it should be in control of its resources, its trade and its economy as a whole. European capital is a means of colonization,

to suggest, that, that it is a necessity for our economic survival, is to say that it is inevitable for us to be in a permanent state of colonialism.

And is therefore, a method of government that perpetrates injustice, and blocks as a consequence, all avenues towards freedom. To be free in the present world, and in our own situation, is to be ideologically, culturally, politically and economically free from all the systems built on the European instinct and tradition and "genius to colonize, to trade and to govern." In this sense, we should tell those who are advocating socialism for us, as well as those who want the continuation of capitalism that; they are captive of the heinous European instinct, and are therefore serving interests that are contrary and opposed to our own interests. We have been silent for too long, and we have been accepting fallacious arguments articulated by forces which only serve the instinctive greed of the European race.

Tenth: we are told that, contrary to what those who lead us are daily trying to make us believe, and contrary to what our educational system is telling us, "European brains," to use the words of Lugard, "capital energy, have not been and never will be expended in developing the resources of Africa out of pure philanthropy." In other words, European brain, capital and energy are here with us for the purpose

of building up European and American "industrial classes. "The belief, therefore, which we can benefit economically from the domination of the West over our economy, and over almost the entire structure of our nation, is completely contrary to Western strategies and tradition. The fact that we have not become an industrial nation, that we have not achieved modernization in the way we thought we could be, that we have not developed a sound and reliable technological capability, or even that we have failed to be socially and politically stable, is a testimony that we are being mercilessly milked for the benefit of the industrial Europe.

We imagine that Europe would transfer its brain, its capital and its energy to us: for this is what the fruitless talks about transfer of technology and a new world economic order seem to indicate. But there is no inevitability whatsoever in being a slave.

Thirdly, that as Europe did, we can only be great by expend the tremendous energy inherent in us. But only a commitment to a noble, ultimate goal, a profound consciousness of one's position in the scale of things, and a desire, to move forward, to compete and to surpass can release the energy inherent in a people. All people are imbued with latent energy, therefore, all people are energetic but the degree to which the energy is released is determined by the

strength of their ideology, the level of their commitment to it, and the challenges of life they are prepared to face, Europe's energy is not greater than ours, it is not even as great as ours, but they are stronger than us today because they are conscious of what they are and what they want to be, because they are ready to take risks and venture into the unknown, and because they take the goals they set for themselves seriously. Our energy is diverted to serving Europe and the West as a whole, and as a consequence, all that we have expended of this energy only serves to divert the nation from its right course.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this lecture, I have - attempted firstly, to bring out the doctrines or the strategies of a race, of a group of nations, of a civilization that "have pledged themselves, to quote Lugard, "to cooperation by a solemn covenant" to carry out the tradition of their race and to give rein to their instinct "to colonize, to trade, and to govern." Then, I have made efforts to show how the operation of these doctrines has affected us as a nation and a continent.

My aims are, to show that Europe is for ever committed to the colonization of other races for as long as it faces no challenge, for as long as it can dominate the brains of others and for as long as its capital and its energy are allowed to cripple the capital and energy of other nations; and to show that we, as a colonized nation still subservient to the domineering operation of European "brain, capital and energy," have, in our effort to be truly great, but one choice, which is a practical blocking of the operation of the European tradition and instinct. This, I have tried to show, we can only do by utilizing the tradition of mankind to resist oppression, and the instinct of man to be free.

We should therefore regard ourselves as having no future as a nation, so long as we believe, through the operation of our economy, and the acceptance of

colonial political frontiers, that it is inevitable for us to be a colony. For the only future which a slave who reconciles himself with servitude has, is to remain a slave, die a slave and be inherited by a slave. Nor should we regard ourselves as having a future worthy of contemplation, so long as we believe that the European civilization, with its law, its political structure, its "religion," are the ultimate in human tradition. These things handed over to us as "religion and civilization" are the very things that have cultivated the seeds for the continuation of our subservient condition.

But there is, as I have indicated, a path to the future. As of now, we are a nation, with huge and tremendous resourced, great potentialities and reassuring, reliable latent energy. We are a nation believed, almost everywhere, to be capable of achieving true greatness. And looking within ourselves, we know that we are capable of establishing a just and fair society; of mobilizing of our collective will to stop colonialism of mobilizing our intellectual energy to transform this nation and this region as a whole into a mid-able bloc. Our fault is that we believe in Europe and consume its poison.

Yet, a disbelief in Europe and a refusal to takes its poise is a necessary step in the path to the future. And a belief in ourselves, in what we have, and in our abilities, is also a necessity. Then an alternative system

of thought, of society, nation-building and of life as a whole, remains also a necessity.

And finally, the awakening in us of our instinct to be free as human beings and as a nation, is the other necessity. In short, present abbreviation, however much we wish to glorify it, cannot lead us but backwards. Nothing but a total transformation of this society, this nation and this region will lead us to the future we deserve. And the reality of the world today shows that to be from Europe, to mobilize a collective will capable of withstand: the collective, colonizing force of Europe, to be able to frustrate the "solemn covenant" of European nations to plunder the resource others, to be able to establish a system of life, of thought and of economy, not subject to European manipulation, and to be able to raise up a new generation that is proud of belonging to what is not European, and confident and unshaken in its belief in the efficacy and rightness of its course and its tradition, we have to hold aloft, once again, the banner of Islam.